

Becoming a Kwoma

857 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the
868 harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 Children do not participate in the process of extracting
868 flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which
[252] requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

- [224] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon
[462] as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they
[410] are poorly constructed and rarely used. A boy's father usually
[223] makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the pooriness of the weapons, some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Men, an
[224] adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in
[125] his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for
[411] wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

Childhood

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw⁸⁶⁸ up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting. [857] [224] [411]

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter*; the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship. [231] [601] [231]

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this. [226] [462]

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons. [412] [286]

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with [861] [868] [857]

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon. [137]

883 tasks with the adult men and women of the group. Adoles-
241 cents do not, however, have much voice in matters of agricul-
tural policy, such as choosing the proper site, or determining
the time of planting.

883 One of the principal duties of a boy is to assist in clearing
462 sites by climbing trees and lopping off branches; he was not
241 allowed to do this as a child because of the physical dangers
involved. He also helps in preparing the yam hills and in
planting tobacco, taro, and spinach, but he may not put seed
yams in the ground until he has become a member of *Nokwi*,
the third section of the yam cult, which does not occur until
adulthood. When the yam plants break through the ground,
he works with the gardening group at the task of hanging
stringers of split bamboo from the dead limbs of the trees
which stud the garden and pegging these stringers beside
each hill. If the garden is near the hamlet rather than in an
outlying district, he helps his father build a fence around it
to prevent the village pigs from ruining the crop. He works
with the adults at harvest time, helping to dig out the yams
and to store them.

An adolescent girl does the work of an adult woman in her
[252] father's garden. She performs her share of the labor of pre-
[476] paring food for the workers, especially when a feast must be
provided for a work-bee. She helps her mother carry the seed
yams and the liana stringers to the garden. It is her duty to
[602] keep her section of the garden clean of weeds and to help her
sisters, mothers, and aunts weed the sections belonging to her
father, *brothers, and younger sisters*. The most arduous part
[482] of her labor is the transportation of the harvest. She carries
[487] from fifty to seventy-five pounds of yams in her net bag
[346] miles over the steep, slippery paths from the garden to the
hamlet, where they are stored in small houses especially built
for the purpose.

883 Adolescence entails no change in the fishing habits of the
[226] girls nor in the hunting habits of the boys. These activities
• [224] continue to be undertaken primarily for sport. A boy is not
permitted to hunt pigs until he has become a man. Nowel, an
adolescent, deviated from this custom and set out to spear a

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pig. He managed to drive his spear into the side of a wild
boar but the animal charged at him. Nowel sidestepped the
beast but the handle of the spear struck him and gave him an
ugly bruise on the forehead. The day after this experience he
stopped at my house. Yat, Wof, and War happened to be
present and asked Nowel how he had come by the bruise.
When he told them, they blamed him instead of sympathiz-
ing. They said that it was a wonder that he had not been
killed and asked him if he thought that he was already a man
that he should have attempted such a thing.

Adolescent boys are not expected to make the tools neces-
sary for their economic pursuits. Although each has an adz
which he uses as a tool of all work, it is made for him by his
father or *paternal uncle*. The lime gourd and stick, which a
boy uses for preparing betel for chewing, are also made and
given to him by his father or by his *paternal uncle*, the net
bag, which he uses as a carryall, by his mother or his sister.
Indeed the following case shows that they are prevented from
manufacturing tools. Mes and Mar decided to make a canoe
together. They cut down the tree and began hollowing it out
under the direction of Nambomai, a river native who was
working for me. When War heard what these two boys were
doing, he forbade them from continuing the work. He said
that they were not old enough. As soon as War was out of
hearing, Mar and Mes protested that it was none of War's
business and that they were not going to obey him. They
worked on the canoe one more day and then gave it up. The
canoe was never finished. Adolescent girls, on the other hand,
are expected to produce tools. They make net bags both for
themselves and for their brothers. They carry out the entire
process, stripping the bark from the proper tree, preparing
it, rolling it into thread on their thighs, and netting it;
women's bags are voluminous, men's smaller. Adolescent girls
also make bark-fiber fishing nets.

These economic activities are all in some way associated
with the satisfaction of hunger. It would be inaccurate, how-
ever, to assume that these customs are maintained by this
drive alone, for sex also plays a part in impelling Kwoma

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If he dislikes a girl who makes advances to him, he may turn 882
 her down, but even this is dangerous, for if he antagonizes 836
 her too much, she may claim that he attempted to rape her. 584
 If he dislikes a betrothed girl who is already living with him, 602
 he may express his aggression by scolding her and by criti- 578
 cizing her behind her back, but if he harms her, he is in
 jeopardy of retaliation from her relatives.

Foreigners constitute a final category of persons whom an 882
 adolescent boy fears. He continues to avoid them as he did 721
 during childhood. On the other hand, he is now eligible to go 648
 on a head-hunting raid and thus has the opportunity to react 609
 aggressively toward them. Since head-hunting is primarily
 an adult occupation, however, its description, including ex-
 amples of the reactions of adolescents, will be postponed.

An adolescent girl reacts to pain and danger in a manner 882
 frequently similar to, but often different from, that of a boy. 562
 Both sexes react similarly to the natural environment. While 224 •
 girls do not participate in hunting, they are not loath to
 kill a snake or lizard which gets in their way. Toward insects,
 noxious flora, sorcery,⁴ and ghosts, their behavior is also
 quite comparable. On the other hand, whereas boys are initi- 781
 ated into the cult and thus learn a special type of behavior
 toward *maralai*, girls do not undergo such an initiation. 781
 In fact, they must avoid the house tamikan during ceremonies,
 like children, and are supposed to believe that the sounds of
 gongs and flutes are the voices of the *maralai*. Nevertheless,
 adolescent girls have a fairly good idea of what causes the
 sounds. I once purchased several wooden figures which repre-
 sented *maralai*, and was told to hide them carefully, for if a
 child or a female saw one it would cause their death. One
 afternoon Kar visited me with his two nieces. Seeing the fig-
 ures under the bed he pulled them out to examine them, ap-
 parently oblivious of the presence of his nieces. The two girls
 sat watching the proceedings and whispering to one another
 about the objects.

⁴ Girls do not participate directly in anti-sorcery behavior, but they are 754
 as vociferous in their verbal aggression against putative sorcerers as are
 boys, if not more so.

112 Pig hunting *Becoming a Kwoma*

• 224 is an occupation which a Kwoma male does
[885] for the first time as an adult. Women never hunt. A man usually hunts alone, although occasionally he will allow an adolescent boy to accompany him and watch. The bait-and-blind technique is considered the most effective method. For bait the hunter cuts down a sago palm in the swamp wherever pig signs are evident. He erects a blind of fronds alongside this, and on a moonlight night waits for the prey to come to eat the fresh sago pith. The hunter may crouch in the mud for several hours before the sound of sloshing footsteps, punctuated with deep grunts and the breaking of dead sago fronds, heralds the arrival of the game. If he is lucky enough to attract a wild pig to his bait, he edges slowly and soundlessly along the blind to a point opposite his prey and then rises slowly and thrusts his spear into the beast's heart.

The Kwoma also hunt with trained dogs. They walk through the swamp until their dog picks up the fresh trail of a wild pig. If the dog brings his quarry to bay, the hunter dispatches it with a spear. Wild pigs are also trapped. A hole about four feet in diameter and five feet deep is dug in a pig trail and covered lightly with twigs and leaves. The trapper visits this pitfall periodically.

224 After a pig has been killed it must be transported from the
482 swamp to the hamlet. If the pig is not full grown the hunter
483 lifts it across the back of his neck and carries it as a shepherd does a lamb. If the hog is full grown and fattened on
[257] sago pith, however, it is too heavy for a man to carry alone. He therefore, if possible, drags the carcass to a pool and leaves it immersed in water while he goes home to get help from his *brothers*. Kwoma theory believes that the meat keeps better immersed in water than if it is simply left where it falls. At least three men are required to carry a large hog. Two of them lift the burden onto the back of the third man, and he staggers as far as he can before the hog is transferred to the shoulders of another. By taking turns in this way the carcass is finally brought home.

224 The adult man of the hamlet who is most adept at butchering usually performs this task. The pig is laid on its back on

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a blanket of leaves and cut up with bamboo knives.* The joints are cut with adzes. The mode of butchering differs considerably from the European technique, as the pig is divided in line with the jaws into a ventral and a dorsal half rather than along the backbone into a right and a left half.

A hunter who has killed a pig may eat none of its flesh himself lest he sicken and die. This restriction is parallel to the one placed upon the yam planters. The Kwoma believe that when a man kills a pig his own blood enters the animal; hence to eat its flesh would be to eat his own blood, an act which has the consequence of causing sickness and death. A man therefore uses the pork for one of the following purposes: to provide food for his family and relatives; to discharge a ceremonial obligation to a relative; to give a goodwill feast at his house *tamberan* to which all members of his cult section (*Yenama* or *Minjama*) are invited; to provide food for one of the regular cult or age-grade ceremonies in order to gain prestige; to give a feast for the members of the sorcery court if a relative is sick; to provide for the second funeral feast for a deceased relative; to provide food for a work bee; or to trade with the river people for shell money. In the event that the pig is to be used for a feast, the whole animal is contributed and a soup is made in several large pots. What is not eaten is distributed to those present at the ceremony. If, however, the animal is to be given to relatives, there are specific rules which govern what part of the animal shall go to each of them. The *maternal uncle* receives the hams; the *paternal aunt* gets the second joints of the fore legs; the *sisters* are given the shoulders and brisket; *paternal uncles* receive the brain case and upper jaw; and the *brothers* get the hind trotters. The remainder—the backbone, hind and fore flanks, and the entrails—is kept by the hunter to provide meat for his immediate family.

This description of the use to which pork is put indicates that a man does not learn to hunt pigs in order to satisfy his

* Although the Kwoma now have steel knives, they prefer bamboo ones for butchering.

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- 224 own hunger directly. Indirectly the amount of pork that is
602 available to him does depend on his hunting activities, for if he never supplies his relatives with pork they tend to utilize the pigs which they kill for ceremonial purposes rather than for distribution among relatives. On the other hand, a man receives his share of pork at ceremonies even though he has never killed a pig himself. Furthermore his negligence in supplying a brother, for example, with pork does not mean that this brother will not be motivated to distribute a kill to other relatives, in which distribution the man who has never killed a pig automatically gets his share. A man may, therefore, have pork to eat all his life and yet never kill a pig; indeed, this is true of a number of Kwoma men.

- 224 Since a man's desire for pork is relevant but not crucial
626 in influencing him to learn to hunt pigs, and since it is an occupation in which men are frequently seriously injured[†] and sometimes killed, other reasons must be sought to explain why so many men do learn the techniques of hunting. One of these motives is that of avoiding the criticism of his friends and relatives, a factor which operates in the following way. If a man does not learn to hunt, but develops some other technical specialty such as wood carving, toolmaking, ceremonial gong beating, dancing, or song leading, then he will not be criticized for not developing the art of pig hunting. If, however, he does not so compensate for this lack, social criticism will be leveled against him. He will be called lazy and scolded by his wife and the other members of the hamlet for not doing his share of productive work.

- 224 There are positive gains which motivate a man to learn to
[476] hunt. If he uses the pork as the chief food of a work-bee, his
[461] hunting activity is rewarded by getting his work accomplished more quickly, for more people are likely to answer his call for help if they know there will be pork. If he uses it
[692] to provide a feast for a sorcery court and his relative recov-

[†] During my stay at Kwoma, two men were seriously injured. One of them had his leg badly lacerated and escaped death by climbing a tree; the other's hand was badly chewed and he was saved by another hunter who happened to be in the vicinity.

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ers, he feels that his hunting has not been in vain. If he uses the pig as part payment of the bride-price, hunting helps to put an end to the snooping, interference, and threats of his relatives-in-law. If he trades the pig with the river people, his reward is in shell money. If the pig is used for a funeral feast, he may thereafter eat the food which he has denied himself ever since the death of his relative many months before. If he contributes the pig to a cult or good-will feast, he is rewarded by a gain in prestige. More particularly, he will command greater respect at court meetings, he will have more supporters to come to his aid on the event of a sorcery charge being leveled against him, and his relatives will be less apt to have important work of their own to do when he announces a work bee. Indeed a good pig-hunter is a *harasama malaka*. All these factors combine to force a Kwoma man to learn to hunt pigs despite the danger and effort involved.

Although pigs are the most-prized game, Kwoma hunters kill other animals as well. Cassowaries come next in importance both in giving prestige to the hunter and in providing food. These large birds are hunted by dogs in the same way as wild pigs, and are likewise dispatched by a spear. Bait-and-blind hunting is not employed, but a hen is sometimes speared while she is on her nest. All smaller birds are killed by means of bow and bird dart. Since most of the wild fowl perch at the top of the jungle trees some sixty to eighty feet from the ground—a very difficult shot even with a rifle—this form of hunting is not highly developed. A native will attempt a shot only when he is within a few feet of the game, when birds alight on the shrubbery near the house. Bow and bird dart are also employed in the hunting of gouria pigeons. These large birds often feed on the windfall under wild fruit trees. A native hunter sometimes makes a blind under such a tree and shoots the pigeons if they are attracted by the fallen fruit.

Men spend little time hunting small game, leaving such activities to children. They sometimes kill rats, snakes, and lizards. The usual method is simply to beat them with any handy stick. Some of the smaller lizards are caught and

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- 224 [157] strangled by hand or are snared by means of a running noose tied to the end of a stick. A man sometimes constructs a small deadfall trap in the granary or dwelling to catch stray rats, but more frequently he sets a hunting dog on these pests.

224 [157] If a man does not use a bow and dart or spear to kill small animals, the belief about his blood does not strictly apply. He may eat them without harm. Many Kwoma, however, do not take the chance of eating something which has been killed even in this way, and give the meat to some other member of their family.

224 703 237 223 Opossums and birds of paradise are exceptions to the lack of interest in small game. A man may expend considerable effort hunting these, not because of their food value, but because they yield homicidal insignia. A man who has taken the head of an enemy is permitted to wear a band of opossum fur on his forehead and bird of paradise plumes in his comb. Hence a man who already has the privilege of wearing such insignia eagerly seeks them, and one who does not yet have the privilege seeks them to use in the future or to give to a brother or uncle.

252 593 885 Processing sago is a continual chore for Kwoma adults of both sexes. The technique which they master during adolescence has been described in the preceding chapter. The only change which occurs at adulthood is that the work group is composed of a man and his wife rather than of a brother and his sister. The habits of processing sago are maintained by the family's need for an everyday supply of sago flour, for a surplus to be traded with the river people for fish, and for contributions to necessary work bees and ceremonial feasts.

226 462 597 433 467 An adult woman continues to fish as she did during her adolescence and childhood. Since marriage is patrilocal, she fishes in a new locale with the women of her husband's hamlet. The main fish supply comes from trade; consequently fishing is only a supplementary occupation in an economic sense and is engaged in primarily for recreation.

222 462 A woman supplements the larder with edible produce from the forest. She collects the leaves of certain wild trees for use as greens; she searches in the dead butts of sago palms for

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the grubs, which are considered a delicacy roasted; and she picks up the windfalls from edible varieties of wild fruit trees. These are subsidiary economic tasks for the woman, but, if she neglects them, her husband will criticize her. Her own wish for these additions to her diet also provides a motive for this work.

A woman continues during adulthood to perform many of the tasks that she learned during childhood and adolescence. She is responsible for keeping the household supplied with firewood and water until she has daughters old enough to take over this work. It is her duty to build the fire in her hearth, to plan and prepare the midday meal, and to keep on hand a supply of sago briquettes. Her husband sees to it that she performs these wifely duties, criticizing and even beating her if she is unduly lazy or negligent.

The men and women of a family share the responsibility of caring for the domesticated animals. It is the man who captures wild pigs whenever he spears a sow with a litter. After he brings them home, he tethers them to stakes near the house, where his wife and children feed them sago pulp mash until they are habituated to the dwelling; then he allows them to go free and forage for themselves. The wife has the responsibility of feeding them whenever they return to the dwelling or calling them to be fed if they stay away for more than a day. Special care is taken of a pregnant sow. Husband and wife cooperate in watching her so that they can catch and tame the offspring before they run wild. The man castrates all male pigs because it is believed that boars cannot be domesticated. The litters born to domesticated sows are therefore sired by wild boars. A domesticated pig is speared and butchered and its flesh used in the same manner as wild pigs, and the same taboo against eating its flesh applies to the man who kills it.

One or more dogs are attached to every Kwoma family. Each dog is individually owned, and is fed and cared for by his master or mistress. Some dogs are trained for hunting. To do this a man must teach the dog to follow pig tracks in the forest but not in the hamlet, for if a man's dog chases and

231 injures the domestic pig of one of his neighbors, he must pay
 • 224 an indemnity. It is not an easy task to teach dogs to make
 this discrimination, and for this reason a good hunting dog
 231 is highly valued. Dogs are also used as food, but no one will
 [262] eat the flesh of a dog owned by a member of his family. To do
 [608] so, they believe, would be almost equivalent to cannibalism,
 since dogs are referred to as the son or daughter of the owner
 and by kin terms appropriate to this relationship by other
 [262] members of the family. Dog meat is therefore used only for
 [766] ceremonial and trading purposes. If a dog dies a natural
 death, the women of the household may wail and watch over
 the body as though it were human. The corpse is formally
 disposed of by suspending it in a net bag from the limb of a
 tree in the forest.

412 Adults are responsible for making the tools and utensils
 [885] which are indispensable in the production of food. The adz^a
 is the Kwoma tool of all work, and is essential in gardening,
 the production of sago flour, and butchering, as well as in
 the manufacture of many of the special tools used in the vari-
 [462] ous economic pursuits. It is made and used only by men. The
 technique of adz construction need not concern us here, ex-
 cept to say that there is little variation in the haft, or handle,
 and that there are two types of lashing, plain and fancy.
 Only a few men learn to do the fancy lashing, and they can
 readily trade an adz lashed in this manner for shell money.
 [177] The celt for an adz was formerly of ground stone; today
 plane irons obtained from the whites are used exclusively.

415 The large net bag of the women is as essential in economic
 [482] activities as is the adz. It is used to carry seeds and tools to
 the garden, to bring back the harvest, to transport sago flour
 from the swamp, to carry a pig after it has been butchered,
 [462] and to bring firewood to the dwelling. This container is used
 [286] only by women and is netted by them. Since these bags must
 be replaced frequently, a woman spends much of her spare
 time manufacturing them.^b

^a The adz is also essential in activities not directly associated with hun-
 ger, such as housebuilding and gong making.

^b As was stated in the previous chapter, a girl learns this technique dur-
 ing adolescence.

591 and since it is difficult to get helpers to leave their own work
 342 for more than one day at a time, housebuilding is usually
 476 slow. A year or more often elapses between setting the central
 [351] post and lashing the final shingle in place. A young
 [393] married man chooses a level plot near his father's house for a
 site. Sometimes two brothers will build a house together and
 share it, but more often each builds one of his own. Since
 the thatched houses at Kwoma do not last indefinitely, a man
 usually has to build several during the course of his lifetime.
 [588] Old men live in their houses until these become too dilapi-
 dated to give adequate shelter, and then move in with one of
 their sons.

885 Toward dangers from the natural environment, the Kwoma
 781 adult behaves in much the same way as he did during adoles-
 • [224] cence. He is somewhat more bold in coping with dangerous
 animals, particularly wild pigs, for he now begins to hunt
 them. He still respects supernatural dangers and heeds the
 warnings issued during the previous periods of his life con-
 cerning *maralai*, ghosts, and sorcery.

885 As an adult, a man may come in closer contact with *mar-*
 156 *alai* by joining the second stage of the yam cult. If he gains
 794 enough prestige by aggressively defending his rights, if he
 796 shows himself to be a good worker, if he becomes adept at
 554 one of the ceremonial accomplishments such as singing, gong
 beating, flute playing, or dancing, if, in fine, he shows prom-
 ise of becoming a "big older brother man," he will be asked
 to join the other section of the yam cult.²⁴ If he does so, the
 initiation ceremony is less formal than was his first entry into
 the house *tamberan* at adolescence. He learns definitely at
 this time that the opposite section is similar to his own, dif-
 fering only in minor variations in ritual and paraphernalia.
 Thenceforth he has the privilege of attending either or both
 of the ceremonies, a gain in prestige, in rapport with the
maralai, and in opportunities for singing, dancing, and
 feasting.

²⁴ The yam cult, it will be remembered, is in two sections, *Yanama* and *Minjama*. Every male is elected into one or another of these sections during adolescence. If a boy enters *Yanama* during adolescence, the next step is to become a member of *Minjama*, and vice versa.

Supernatural Beliefs

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sion²⁰ which is normally harmless because the sorcerer is seldom if ever discovered.

The belief in sorcery, as well as furnishing an explanation for sickness, functions as a means of social control. It stands, indeed, in lieu of a police force and strong political organization as a preventive of criminal behavior. Theft, rape, murder, and trespass, for example, are inhibited by the fear that these crimes will bring retaliation through sorcery from the person against whom the crime is committed or from his relatives. The fear of sorcery is more potent in preventing crimes than the fear of other forms of retaliation because it is considered as dangerous as realistic modes and more difficult to prevent.

Finally, sorcery provides a means whereby persons can express their aggression against other members of the society without serious consequences. Although the Kwoma probably use this mode of expressing anger only infrequently, the belief in the efficacy of the sorcery mechanism permits one to perform acts which he believes will cause the sickness and death of another person. Thus sorcery beliefs, like those about *masalai* and ghosts, perform important functions for the members of Kwoma society.

Kwoma informants explain that it is necessary to hold the age-grade ceremony once every five years in order to provide an opportunity for the ceremonial letting of blood that insures health and normal growth to the initiates. The beliefs about blood are thus bound into the system of age-grading, which provides a hierarchy of prestige positions and, like the yam cult, provides opportunities for singing, dancing, flute playing, gong beating, wood carving, and ceremonial license. The taboo against eating pork that one has speared, which is based on the Kwoma theory of blood, prevents private consumption by the hunter and compels him to distribute the meat. This results in quick consumption, an important factor in a damp hot climate where no efficient method for preserving meat is known. The distribution of pork to rela-

²⁰ The announcement of sickness, the behavior at court, and the testing visits are all aggressive in character.

619 The land (both mountain and surrounding sago swamp) of the Hongvam
 423 people is divided into various large sections which belong to either
 631 Wanyi, Mayamakro, or Tug. These sections are not contiguous, and are
 614 specifically bounded by marked trees, rocks, streams, etc. These sections
 are further divided into subsections owned by brother, real or classificatory.

[428] Land is passed on to son, or brother's son or mother's brother's son.

241 From this land, the people, working in family groups, get a living.

[262] There are two food products which stand far above all others in dietary
 [462] importance, sago and yams. Both sexes and the children work in the planting,
 cultivation, and harvesting of these crops, but only men can wash the sago
 pith and plant the yams. There is no season for this or for any other of the
 food products. Yams are planted on the steep side hills, the tops of
 trees first being lepped off and burned. The breaking of the ground is done
 with a digging stick. Dry taro, coconut, spinach, banana and recently

222 corn and melons are also cultivated. Beside these food products the leaves
 262 of several wildgrowing trees and shrubs, and various berries are eaten.

224 Hunting is quite secondary. Pigs which are the most important of hunted
 [796] animals are usually speared only in preparation for a feast, or, if
 killed at other times call for a special pig-eating feast.

[223] Cassowarys are also killed by spearing, but to bag one is a rare event.
 Smaller birds are very rarely shot with a bow and arrow. Snakes and

[857] lizards are a delicacy supplied by the young boys who either shoot them
 222 with a bow and arrow or club them. A large grub which feeds on the sago
 262 palm is a particular delicacy. Neither a man nor his parents may eat the
 826 yams he has planted or an animal or bird he has killed. It is thought
 that the man's blood goes into these food products, and that a man, eating
 439 his own blood will die. Fish are obtained by trade and a few caught. Pigs
 226 and dogs are domesticated.
 231

000 was well.

527 January 21, 1937. Gongs broke out with a 'singsing' rhythm from Wenysbankura
 224 today. Mar and Gwiyp both jumped up very excitedly and wanted to go
 574 immediately. They said it was a "sing sing belong pig". If a man kills
 a bush pig, and so wishes, he prepares it and carries it to the house
 tambran. The feast is announced by the gongs, and anyone may come and
 partake. Kis just stopped in on his way there.

648 January 22, 1937. Bob Overall came last night to try to recruit some
 464 boys. Yet and Kar and Kis came around. Bob called Kar a "monki nutin".
 which quite upset him. He said, "You'll see whether I am or not." The
 next morning when Bob went down to the house tambran and spread out his
 trade, there were no boys and only a handful of old men. Mundik was the
 only one recruited. Kar came up with a black scowl on his face and told

[829] Mar and the others not by any means to go. Someone greeted him with
 "Good morning". He answered that this was "talk belong white man" and
 hence no good, and he would not have anything to do with it. Furthermore,
 he said that he could not get his house built because Mar and Gwiyp were
 working for us, and he stormed off down to Marok's house.

114 January 24, 1937. I went to Tangwishamp yesterday. Kar Gwiyp, Mar,
 May, Mundik and three of Bob's boys went with me to carry trade and try
 to buy boys. Bob had a touch of fever. When we neared Tangwishamp, the
 three house boys got a bit nervous, especially May and Mar. We arrived
 at the Tangwishamp house tambran to find no one was there. Finally a
 114 "savvy talk" appeared, and we told him we wanted some food. He brought a
 123 couple of dried up yams. I told him they were no good and not anywhere
 439 near enough, but paid him with a harmonica. Finally he called out that the
 "master belong Rumbinan" (from Rumbina) was here and wanted kai kai (food),

123 peered in. When they saw the carved figures, they exclaimed excitedly
[522] and pulled them out and examined them. The women sat down near us and
[562] watched avidly. Kar ignored this, and they seemed to think it natural to
[561] look at them although I have been told time and again that I mustn't let
the women or children see them or they will die. I asked Kar if one of the
figures belonged to Yenama or Minjama, and he said he could not tell me
with the children present but instead carried on an euphemistic conversation
with me about them. They stayed until after supper talking to me. Kar
has not seen Kum yet, and the poison business is not cleared up, but he
[724] had evidently cooled quite a bit. Kar said that Kum had killed two bush
[439] pigs and sold them at Malu, getting a lot of pay. Kar had made a blind to
[683] shoot a pig, and the Malu's had broken it and collected sago from his
[692] ground. He says he is going to make court about it but treated the matter
rather calmly. The same trouble had come up several years before; there
had been a court and he had won. Now as soon as he has finished tying up
his yams, he is going to Yambon to arrange for the court.

124 I talked to Marur after supper about his experiences while working
648 with the white men. I said the "drink house" at Kayandi would reach from
464 Kumbina house tamberan to Sombundura--quite a "drink house"? Marur did not
question me .

648 I repeated the story about Bob calling Kar "something nothing". Kar
464 said he could have persuaded all the recruits not to go if he had wanted to,
but he was sorry for the Tug who did want to go. Each time he tells the
story, he makes it so he came out with a little more credit. He seemed to
have taken Bob's kidding as quite an insult. It was entirely unconscious
on Bob's part. He had asked Kar if he wanted to go to work, and Kar had
answered no, he had to look out for the place. Bob had laughed and said

695 spear. He would finish his speech with an accusation against Wanyi or
754 Hayamakwo. This would be answered by members of these sibs. Wof and Way,
and to some extent War were spokes men for Hayamakwo.

The chief accusation seemed to rest on Afalewanj, who wasn't there.
The gong was beaten, but he still did not come. Sowinambi had accused him
before the talk and it was said he was afraid to come. The talking went on
[264] until I left about 11:00. It had calmed down to almost nothing by the time
I left, and many of the younger men were growling because they were not
[123] passing out the food yet. When I left I was given a piece of pig.

123 My friend from Tangwishamp visited and asked for matches, etc., for
[439] which he gave me some betel pepper. He asked me to go to Afokalis with him
[765] (to get me out of the way), so I went. On the way, we passed War's.

War was covered with mud. He said it was because he was mourning for his
[521] father. My friend and I went down to Afokalis, where a group was gathered
[754] in the house tambran talking about the Sowinambi poisoning. We came back
and stopped in at War's. Oviyap and Mar did not want me to leave. A

[262] large group had gathered from all the sibs except Afokalis. They were
cutting up dog and distributing it. It turned out that the real reason for
[593] War's mourning was that he had gone alone to Yelagu to get his wife back,
[628] but had not succeeded. He had been given pay in shells and a pig, and had
not wanted me to know about it because, he was not sure that he wasn't

648 going to Yelagu to kill them. There was loud talk from the house tambran
721 that evening and Mar said they were all bemoaning the fact that the police
had come, so they could not go and wife out the Yelagu.

224 March 2, 1937. Yat came up this noon and said that he had made a blind
for catching pig in his sago patch near Ambunti. He went there the other
day and found that Rviyampa and Dowari and Mawendaya had broken it and

- 224 made another across Yat's road. Yesterday Yat met Dowari on the road and
 [578] accused him and went up to him to fight, but Dowari threw down his spear and
 [648] ran away. Yat picked up his spear and broke it against a tree. He is
 going to carry the case to the police, he says.

837 Mbungawi married Pokwaga and went to work at the gold fields.
 Navandayn has been having intercourse with Pokwaga. They live at the old
 Haymakuo house tamberen near Wenjabunkura. They have built a new little
 one and call it Cumbwimbura. Pokwaga is pregnant. Yat wants to take
 Navandaya to Ambunti to court for this.

754 March 3, 1937. This morning a group of a dozen or so carrying spears
 627 stopped in on their way to talk 'poison' again at Sowinambi's. A group
 from Sombundura and Wey came by covered from head to foot with mud. They
 had been the rounds of the house tamberans showing how sorry they were so
 that whoever was making the poison would relax). The group came back late
 in the afternoon. No one seemed interested in the result. The attitude was
 that it had been "talk nothing" as usual. The function of the thing seems
 to be to shame the culprit into relaxing. It also serves to allow histrionics
 and a gathering to talk.

685 In the evening there was loud talk down below. Someone has stolen
 some of War's bananas while he was away in the bush, and he is making
 accusations.

439 March 4, 1937. There was trading with Yambon this morning. Hwal was
 241 cutting his garden below War's. Kar, Mes, Moy, Mar, Asanampa, Way, Kawa
 helped.

114 March 6, 1937. Yesterday I went to Mar's bush house. He has only one bed
 so I continued to Mess's; on the way I shot a pigeon and ate it. We went out
 shooting in the afternoon and met Apokwiyampa who with Pokadaya has a house

114 near War's. He was building a bammis (trap) to shoot a pig; he followed
• [229] us around while we were shooting. We got a hornbill -- Mar and Mas cut it
up. Apokwiyampa took part home and ate it with Pokodaya. Then toward
evening they both came back to sleep with us. The mosquitoes were terrific.
We sat about talking for a while and then decided to get the flutes which
were at Mar's. We played the flutes for a couple of hours. Apokwiyampa
was teaching Mar and Mas. He was very patient with them. He would sing
out the tune for them, and then they would try it. Finally we built a
fire under the bed and slept. Mar and Mas slept on one, Poka and Apokwiyampa
on the other. This morning Pokodaya left early. Mar, Mas and I had
breakfast and then went to look at Apokwiyampa's trap. Then we went back
to the house. Mas took a short trip and came back with a bunch of
bananas. They were Latai's, but since Mas is his nephew, it is all right.
We cooked and ate some. He gave the rest to me but asked me to pay Latai.
Awambaka and Apinokw came to help carry my bed back, and we returned.
Poketaya and Apok came too. War is taking out yams.

[754] Yamengamp came to get some water with a lantern. He went back to
Visap's house and called out to me that he saw a man running down the
road to the house tambaran. He yelled to Mar and May. They went down to
the house tambaran to find Wof, Marek at al, there. They came out and
claimed to see his tracks going down past Marek's house. They thought he
was someone coming to hear them talk of poison. Yamsi was looking out
for poison. (Namb and Mar are away, and he is jumpy - he stayed awake all
last night.) May explained that all the big men walk about at night.
They were not afraid of a man's bone.

323 March 7, 1937. Marek fired his pots this afternoon. Two men came from
754 Wenyabenkura this evening. They were making the rounds of Hongvum, getting
755

231 Kriya came in, looked at the dog, said nothing, and left. Mar told me
 682 that the dog had died because someone had tried to poison both Mar and
 Marok by putting poison in their food. Mar and Marok had been too strong
 to die from it, and the dog had died instead. He had died suddenly just
 [766] after eating some sago gruel and fish. A Wanyi was suspected. The dog had
 [262] been a special pet, so he would be put in a net bag and hung in a tree. If
 Marok's mother's brother was present, it would be sold to him for food.

231 [Dogs were created before men. They are older brothers of men.]

• 224 March 26, 1937. Sowinambi was out pig shooting with a dog. He threw
 [231] a spear at a large tusker. The spear broke; the pig turned on him and
 caught him by the hand. Yat was nearby and came up and speared it, killing
 it, but sowinambi's hand was pretty well torn up.

583 Waf and May and Awembaka went to Uranbaj to make payment on May's
 wife to be.

578 April 2, 1937. War and Waf and various wives were shouting back and forth
 421 tonight. It turned out that War was cross at Owiya because he had been cutting
 [602] sago on a certain plot that belongs to his mem (mother's brother). It is also
 War's mem and he says he has prior rights since he is the older brother and wants
 reparation. Owiya says that he will pay the reparation but that he had a perfect
 right to the sago since his mem told him he could cut it. He has decided that
 what he will do is to pay War but tell him that he thereby acquits himself of
 obligation to pay mem at hang sugriya. He is afraid that if he does not pay
 War, War will make poison against him (and he is a dangerous poisoner). He
 thinks he will wait until War presses the point further. He wants to borrow a mark
 from me which he considers to be enough.

123 He is old enough to know better. He does not belong to another sib, he belongs
685 to Rumbina--its bad business.)

• 224 Noel came with his eyes swollen and a big bruise on his forehead. He had
752 tried to shoot a pig, and the spear had somehow bounced back and struck him.
Kwalump, War, and the others berated him for trying to shoot a pig because he
was too young.

593 April 12, 1937. Some people gathered at Wof's last night and talked. There
578 were a couple of loud thumps and then Kaya started wailing. Owiya said that
she was complaining about mosquitoes, and Wof told her to be quiet or she would
attract more. She persisted, and Wof hit her across the shoulders with a staff.
The loud voices continued for about an hour, then abated and a little later
laughter followed; Kaya and Wof laughing the loudest of all.

534 Yatiminj, Kar, War, Marok, and Mar are working on a gong. War is the boss
271 worker and is not drinking water or eating hot water until it is finished "so
it will come up good."

838 This afternoon Cimpangai came in. The first thing he did was ask where
his wife Mesamokwat was. All afternoon he played the homosexual game with the
house boys.

123 Awa came up this afternoon and wanted to know the truth of the Wayakala
685 affair (stealing). I told him, and he said it would be a good thing to "cal-
aboose" him because he was a notorious sorcerer, stealing materials here and
there and making trouble. May said that Way's wife had threatened to cut a
kunda and threatened to beat up the house boys and me tomorrow.

Kar came saying they had talked with Way, and he was going to return the
knife.

578 Tonight loud shouting was heard between Wof who was at my house and War
at the house tambaran. It was a recurrence of the Yelangu affair. It

578 seems that War wants to kill them, and Wof takes a negative attitude. His garden is next to Yelagu, and if War made a raid, it wouldn't be safe to work there. War then accused Wof of telling the Tug men of War's plans, and thus thwarting his plans because of the close connection between Tug and Yelagu. Wof denied it, and so the argument continues.

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[372]
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[579] I went down to Wof's house tonight after supper; people were sitting around the fire burning mosquitoes off their legs with a torch. Wof, who was at the house tambaran called Sin sin sin (greetings) very loudly. Kays repeated this mockingly.

534 April 13, 1937. Afok and Fokotay are helping with the gong. Wof is conspicuously absent. He says he has to look out for food, and it's not his gong anyway. (Strain over the yelagu affair I think). Way is also absent (due to knife stealing I think). I haven't seen him since I got back.

123
863 Chinwe and Kum slept under the mosquito net enclosing the dining work room in my house last night, and Kum wet the floor. Kwiya and Afinok came this morning and were much upset about this, said they were going to spank Kum for it, and helped clean it up.

857 Marek came into the house and pounded Afi on the back a couple of times asking her what she was doing playing about when she should be working, getting firewood, etc. She ran away and down to the house.

● 224 Mas is now our shoot boy, as Namb has quit. Yesterday Mas killed 784 two gouris pigeons and this morning killed another one. Yat told him that 226 he could not eat any. Mas realized that he should not eat them because he [m] had killed them, but Gwiya and Mar said that killing them with a musket was different from killing them with a spear, and that therefore it was all right. Mas was not convinced, however, and this morning he came out with the rationalization that Namb had continually missed shots because he had eaten birds he had shot.

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water. (The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith. (If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

Hunting

223 Cassowary hunting

Cassowaries (spasanka) are surrounded by dogs in daylight. The hunter uses a spear and seeks the vital spot under the ribs for the kill. It is useless to spear them in the back or chest, for such a stab does not kill and a wounded cassowary may turn on a man and "deal him a terrific blow" with its foot. If the cassowary is sitting, the hunter builds a fence and advances under cover of darkness to spear the bird.

Large cassowaries (7-8' high at head) may have five young; medium sized birds may have three young, and small ones may have 2 young.

Upon sighting a cassowary with young, a boy hides behind a tree close to the path. He allows the mother to pass and then gathers up the (three) chicks--the size of a large fowl, in his arms, ties their legs and necks with rope, and carries them off. If the mother gives chase, the boy clammers up a tree with his burden.

Pig hunting

224 Pig hunting is regarded as a grown man's job. It is dangerous at times because wild pigs attack men. A man might go out for two or three days in the bush toward Ambunti where there are known to be many pigs. The actual hunting is done at night. One method is to build a sago frond blind (bannis) across a track. An opened sago log is placed on the other side to attract pigs. The hunter crouches behind the blind to wait. When an animal comes, the hunter rises slowly and thrusts the spear hard behind the right shoulder.

When a spear is used in hunting pig it is grasped near the middle of the shaft in the right hand (with palm toward body). The hunter assumes a crouching posture with his body weight resting on his right leg, almost sitting on his right heel. The left leg is extended in the direction of the

- 224 spear for balance. The hunter approaches prey in this semi-sitting position [48] by shifting weight to his left leg and then settling back again on the right. When the prey is within striking distance, he rises with weight on the right leg, draws back the spear at a level with his eye, and plunges it downward at an angle, following through with the weight of his body onto his left leg.

Another method used in pig hunting is to catch the pigs in pitfalls and spear them after they are caught. The pitfall is about four feet in diameter, three feet deep, covered with twigs and leaves, and dug near a sage swamp.